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# THE LOCAL ELECTIONS.

LIBERAL CONSERVATIVE

## CAMPAIGN PAMPHLET,

CONTAINING

## FACTS AND FIGURES

FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE PEOPLE,

RELATIVE TO

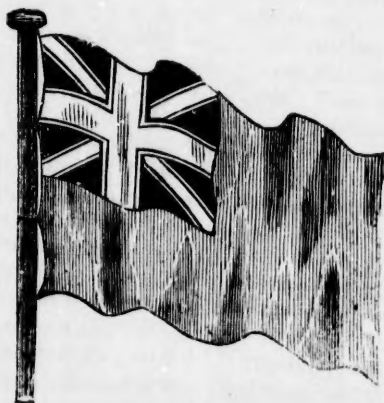
## THE ISSUES TO BE DECIDED IN JUNE.

ALSO

## The Speech of W. R. Meredith, Esq., M.P.P.,

(OPPOSITION LEADER,)

DELIVERED AT THE MASS MEETING, HELD AT RICHMOND  
HILL, ON FRIDAY, APRIL 25TH, 1879.



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1879.

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CAMPAIGN PAMPHLET

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1879  
(41)

The Speech of W. E. Gladstone, Esq., M.P.



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# THE LOCAL ELECTIONS!

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The Issues to be Decided by the People at the Polls 5th June,

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## THE FINANCIAL POSITION.

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Sandfield Macdonald opposed the Confederation scheme on the ground that it would result in too much government. However, when the British North America Act became law, and the union of the Provinces was consummated, he loyally accepted the situation, and served the country with rare devotion to the day of his death. Last summer, in a speech at Lindsay, Hon. George Brown, who libelled Sandfield daily from 1867 to 1871, recanted and paid the dead statesman a worthy tribute. "Sandfield Macdonald," said Mr. Brown, "was a man who would neither do wrong himself, nor allow those around him to do wrong." As first Premier of Ontario, Sandfield laid it down as his chief principle, that economy in Local affairs was necessary to the existence of the Federal system. Holding this view, he guarded the public chest jealously; indeed it has been said, and with some degree of truth, that his parsimony brought about his defeat. Had he spent the public money with a lavish hand, as his successors have done, he would have secured the allegiance instead of arousing the hostility of

the powerful rings and combinations that always beset a full treasury. In 1869, while visiting St. Andrew's, in the County of Glengarry, where he was buried three years afterwards, he was accused of "niggardliness," by a prominent local politician, and his reply is worth reproducing: "I admit I am niggardly. I deal with the public money as though I were dealing with my own personal funds. I am quite convinced—I took this ground during the Confederation debates—that an excessive or extravagant expenditure would in the long run lead the people to complain of the cost of Local government, and the next step would be the overthrow of our present governmental system. So long as I have the honor to be a member of the Ontario Government, I shall continue to be 'niggardly,' for economy, the strictest and most careful economy, is the sheet anchor of the Federal constitution." When this faithful public servant was defeated in the Legislature, a new order of things was established, and his successors, affecting to despise his policy of parsimony, launched out into excessive

expenditure. The result bears witness to the accuracy of Sandfield's foresight. The public burdens have become almost intolerable, and men do not hesitate to say we have far too much government. It is certain, unless a radical change is made, that the revolution he foresaw will spring up, and that before many years. The agitation against the cost of Local government is not confined to Ontario; it is general throughout the Dominion. In one or two of the Provinces they have abolished, or are about to abolish, the Legislative Councils; while in others Local Union is proposed. The prevailing opinion in the Provinces referred to is that the Federal system must be preserved at any cost, and it is felt that economy is the only means of salvation. This is also the view taken by the Opposition in the Ontario Legislature. Mr. Mowat and his followers, and the Ministerial press throughout the Province, with a few notable exceptions, maintain, on the other hand, that the public burdens can be still further increased without straining the back of the tax-payer or imperilling the existence of the present system. Indeed they hold that a sweeping measure of economy, such as the Opposition favor, would result in the destruction of this system. It is for the people to judge of the respective positions of the two parties, and give a decision in the best interests of the country.

The Dominion, with a population of 4,000,000 people, is governed by a Governor-General, seven Lieut-Governors of Provinces, and the Lieut-Governor of the North-West Territories—nine governors in all. We have sixty-five Executive Councillors, viz.—

Dominion .....	13
Ontario .....	6
Quebec .....	7
Nova Scotia .....	9
New Brunswick.....	8
P. E. Island .....	6

Manitoba .....	4
British Columbia.....	3
North-West Territories.....	3
Keewatin .....	6
	65

We have 660 representatives, the Executive Counsellors included, viz.:

House of Commons.....	206
Senate.....	77
Ontario Assembly .....	88
Quebec Assembly.....	65
Quebec Legislative Council.....	24
Nova Scotia Assembly.....	38
Nova Scotia Legislative Council.....	19
New Brunswick Assembly.....	39
New Brunswick Legislative Council..	16
P. E. Island Assembly.....	28
P. E. Island Legislative Council.....	7
Manitoba Assembly.....	28
British Columbia Assembly .....	25
	660

This is one representative for every 6,000 souls, or one for every 600 voters, reckoning every tenth person a voter. In the same proportion, the United States would have 7,260, and Great Britain, 6,000 representatives. The British Empire, with its 280,000,000 people, would have over 46,000 representatives. The cost of Civil Government, *i. e.* of the salaries, contingencies, &c., of governors, ministers and departmental clerks, is as follows:

Dominion.....	\$813,000
Ontario .....	159,000
Quebec.....	165,000
Nova Scotia.....	34,000
New Brunswick.....	21,000
Other Provinces.....	32,000
	\$1,224,000

The cost of Legislation, *i. e.* indemnities to members, salaries of the Speakers, clerks, &c., is as follows:

Dominion.....	\$596,000
Ontario .....	122,000
Quebec.....	168,000
Nova Scotia.....	39,000
New Brunswick.....	41,000
Other Provinces.....	50,000

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\$1,016,000

The cost of the administration of Justice, i. e. of maintaining the machinery of law, is as follows :

Dominion.....	\$565,000
Ontario.....	280,000
Quebec.....	405,000
Nova Scotia.....	18,000
New Brunswick.....	17,000
Other Provinces.....	35,000

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\$1,320,000

The cost of Education, which is paid wholly by the Provinces, is as follows :

Ontario.....	\$ 550,000
Quebec.....	361,000
Nova Scotia.....	220,000
New Brunswick.....	119,000
Other Provinces.....	82,000

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\$1,332,000

Lastly, the cost of Customs, Excise, Post Office, Government railways, &c., being the salaries of Government employes in those branches of the service which belong to the Federal Government, is as follows :

Pensions and Superannuations.....	\$ 217,000
Customs .....	722,000
Excise.....	211,000
Weights and Measures.....	111,000
Post Office .....	1,705,000
Government Railways, Canals, &c.....	2,352,000
Fisheries and Lighthouse Service.....	567,000

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\$5,885,000

The figures throughout are those for 1877, the latest obtainable in a complete form ; the figures for 1878 not having been submitted yet in Quebec, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and Prince Edward Island. To sum up, the total cost of government, Dominion and Provincial—exclusive of the amounts spent on Immigration, Police, Penitentiaries, Debt Management and Interest, Hospitals and Charities, Indians, Public Works Maintenance, &c.—is upward of \$10,750,000 a year, or over \$2.50 per head of the population. In addition to this load, moreover, we have to carry our municipal governments, of the cost of which it is impossible to form an estimate. In Ontario alone, there are 39 counties with county governments, and 490 township municipalities, and 172 incorporated cities, towns, and villages, each with its little government, its office-holders, and paraphernalia. It needs no argument to prove that all this is a tremendous tax upon the energies of the people. Wholesale reduction and simplification could not fail to be advantageous ; certainly they would save the Federal system from the agitation by which it is already menaced.

The present Dominion Government, although the short time they have been in office has been fully occupied in the preparation of measures of vast importance, have already taken a step in the direction of economy. The new Government in Nova Scotia—the so-called Reform Government of that Province was hurled from power on the memorable 17th September—have also entered on a policy of retrenchment, although the Reform majority in the Legislative Council has balked, for the time being, their efforts to abolish that body ; and the men who have just been called to power in Prince Edward Island are moving on the same line. In this Province, the necessity for economy is equally press-



ing. The bogus Reformers who have ruled us for seven years, have added enormously to the cost of every branch of the public service. They did wrong, but it was of a piece with their general extravagance, when they increased the number of representatives. In the Dominion Parliament it is only right and proper that the leading Province in the Union should have a commanding representation; but there is little need for eighty-eight members in the Local House. And the Opposition opposed strongly Mr. Mowat's Bill, adding eight new members at the last general election.

On the question of the expenditure, both parties are on the record. The Reformers retain nothing of their party but the empty name; and those independent men who voted for them because of their strenuous profession of economy while in Opposition, cannot do so again and be consistent. In 1868, the cost of Civil Government was \$92,000, and in 1871, \$108,000, being an increase in four years of 17 per cent. In 1878 the cost was \$159,000, showing an increase in the seven years of Reform rule of over 41 per cent. In 1868, the cost of Legislation was \$86,000, and in 1871, \$94,000, being an increase in the four years of 9 per cent. In 1878 the cost was \$126,000, showing an increase in the seven years of Reform rule of 34 per cent. In 1868 the cost of the Administration of Justice was \$173,000, and in 1871, \$183,000, being an increase in the four years of 6 per cent. In 1878 it was \$295,000, showing an increase in the seven Reform years of no less than 61 per cent. In 1868 the cost of Education was \$301,000, and in 1871, \$351,000, being an increase in the four years of 16 per cent. In 1878 it was \$556,000, showing an increase in the seven Reform years of 57 per cent. Thus, in those branches of the expenditure which more than any others

are within the control of Ministers, the increases under Reform rule have been out of all proportion greater than the increases they condemned under their predecessors. A comparison of the salaries of 1871 and 1878 is instructive as showing how enormously the cost of the machinery of government at headquarters is increasing:

	1871.	1878.
Lt.-Governor's Office.	\$ 1,496	\$ 2,400
Atty-General and Executive Council.....	7,640	11,660
Treasury.....	11,495	12,300
Secretary and Registrar.....	9,495	11,900
Registrar-General....	5,005	9,100
Agriculture and Public Works.....	10,365	18,654
Inspection of Asylums, Registry Offices, etc.	7,683	9,741
Crown Lands.....	29,885	41,780
Queen's Printer and Gazette .....	4,534	5,716
	<u>\$87,598</u>	<u>\$123,251</u>

The contingencies are as follows:

	1871.	1878.
Government House...	\$ 4,503	\$ 5,205
Lt.-Governor's Office..	306	950
Executive Council and Attorney-General...	2,602	3,271
Treasury.....	2,264	2,423
East Wing.....	Nil.	3,218
Secretary and Registrar.....	4,675	5,120
Agriculture and Public Works.....	3,496	3,036
Inspection of Asylums, etc.....	715	2,126
Crown Lands.....	8,454	10,120
	<u>\$27,015</u>	<u>\$35,469</u>

In other words, while the salaries and contingencies of Civil Government in 1871 amounted to \$114,613, they amounted last year to \$158,720, an increase of 40 per cent. The cost of Legislation,

omitting the cost of the general elections in 1871, is as follows:—

	1871.	1878.
Salaries.....	\$ 8,725	\$11,300
Sessional Writers, &c..	4,212	8,044
Postages and Post Office.....	2,426	3,256
Indemnity.....	37,809	71,171
Stationary, &c.....	11,412	18,729
Printing and Binding.	1,847	1,838
Library.....	731	2,867
Contingencies.....	7,510	9,258
	<u>\$74,672</u>	<u>\$126,463</u>

To sum up, Civil Government and Legislation—the two branches of the service which are under the noses of Ministers and subject entirely to their control—cost in 1871 \$189,285, and in 1878 \$285,183, or an increase of over 50 per cent.

The following table of the receipts and expenditure from 1868 to 1878 shows an enormous increase in the expenditure; and an increase, too, out of all proportion to the increase in revenue:

	Receipts.	Expenditure.
1868 .....	\$2,260,200	\$1,182,400
1869 .....	2,625,200	1,444,630
1870 .....	2,500,700	1,580,700
1871 .....	2,333,200	1,816,900
1872 .....	3,060,800	2,220,700
1873 .....	2,912,300	2,940,800
1874 .....	3,446,300	3,871,500
1875 .....	3,159,500	3,604,500
1876 .....	2,589,200	3,140,600
1877 .....	2,452,000	3,127,400
1878 .....	2,254,400	2,902,400

It will be seen that since 1874 the expenditure has largely exceeded the revenue, the excess being as follows:

1874 .....	\$425,200
1875 .....	445,000
1876 .....	551,400
1877 .....	665,400
1878 .....	648,000
Total .....	<u>\$2,735,000</u>

The sums spent on what is known as capital account, i. e. on public works, special fund outlay, etc., and on purely controllable expenditure, have been as follows:

	Capital Account.	Controllable Expenditure.
1868 .....	\$ 138,900	\$1,043,500
1869 .....	428,600	1,016,000
1870 .....	488,100	1,092,600
1871 .....	593,800	1,223,109
1872 .....	738,100	1,482,600
1873 .....	1,175,400	1,765,400
1874 .....	2,084,900	1,786,600
1875 .....	1,777,100	1,827,400
1876 .....	1,245,400	1,895,200
1877 .....	1,114,400	2,003,000
1878 .....	844,000	2,058,400

This table makes it plain that, capital account expenditure aside, the controllable expenditure has risen under Reform rule from \$1,223,100 to \$2,058,400—an increase of \$835,300, or nearly 70 per cent!

Certain Reformers—not the better class, but the gentlemen who take their cue from the *Globe*—are in the habit of maintaining that notwithstanding the increased expenditure and the large excess of expenditure over revenue that has occurred of late years, the surplus is larger to-day than it was in Sandfield's time. It is quite clear, however, that a man cannot spend more than his income year after year, and at the same time add to his surplus funds. The surplus on the 31st December last was, according to the Treasurer's financial statement, as follows:

#### ASSETS.

Investments.....	\$2,732,550
Special Dominion Trust Funds	2,786,418
Share of Ottawa Library.....	135,541
Due on Municipal Loan Fund Account.....	144,136
Due from Mechanics' Institutes	19,000
Balance due on Sale of Mimico Lots .....	6,306



Due from Credit Valley on	
Land Sales .....	9,013
Cash in Bank.....	39,784
	<hr/>
	\$5,842,748

### LIABILITIES.

Railway Aid Fund .....	\$ 400,162
Railway Subsidy Fund.....	134,227
Railway Grants.....	298,548
Surplus Distribution.....	151,110
Quebec's Share of Common	
School and other Land Funds	362,654
Land Improvement Fund....	124,685
	<hr/>
	\$1,411,386
Surplus.....	\$4,431,362

On the 31st December, 1871, ten days after Sandfield's resignation, the surplus account (*vide Globe* 23rd January, 1872) was as follows :

Dominion Bonds, 5 per cent...	\$1,193,233
Dominion Bonds, 6 per cent...	500,000
Dominion Debentures, 5 per	
cent.....	705,471
Dominion Stock, 6 per cent....	350,000
Bank of Montreal—Special De-	
posit .....	800,000
Royal Cadadian Bank—Special	
Deposit .....	90,174
Bank of Montreal—On De-	
mand .....	172,985

Total Surplus.....\$3,811,863

It will be seen that in Sandfield's time the actual investments of the Province only were regarded as surplus. It was not until the eve of the Local elections in 1875 that Reformers began to make surplus out of anything else. They had spent enormous sums, reducing the surplus largely; and it occurred to them that it would be a capital point if they could show that though they spent more and saved less, yet they had added to Sandfield's nest-egg. Accordingly, they laid hands on the Dominion Trust Funds amounting to \$2,699,000, and to an estimate of Ontario's share of the Ottawa

Library, viz., \$105,000, the two items amounting in round numbers to \$2,800,000. The Trust Funds are composed as follows :

U. C. Grammar School Fund,	
5 per cent .....	\$ 312,769
U. C. Building Fund, 6 per	
cent. ....	1,472,291
Ontario's share (five months)	
of Common School Fund, 5	
per cent .....	\$ 914,247
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	\$2,699,407

This, from the first establishment of the Local Government, has been regarded as an asset; and the Dominion Government pays interest on it to this Province annually. But never until the eve of the 1875 elections was it regarded as an asset to be included in the surplus. At page 16 of his budget speech of the 20th February, 1874, Mr. Crooks puts the matter very clearly :

"That (the \$2,699,407) is an amount which we are in a position to demand from the Dominion Government at any time we think convenient, though it is the desire of the Dominion Government, and the Governments of Quebec and Ontario, before disturbing those funds, to settle all questions which remain; because there are points to be settled between the Dominion Government and this Province, as well as certain questions to be settled with the Province of Quebec, and this settlement, to be at all convenient, must be a triangular one, involving the consideration on the part of the three Governments of certain items, before the actual money balance can be arrived at."

Mr. E. B. Wood, the first Treasurer, took the same view both in his budget speeches and in his argument before the Ontario-Quebec arbitrators, viz., that these funds should not be held to be cash until the differences between the two Provinces were settled; and the Ottawa library fund is in precisely the same posi-

tion. The library belonged to Old Canada, or Upper and Lower Canada, a partnership Confederation dissolved; but until the affairs of that partnership are wound up, the money value, or as Mr. Crooks puts it, the "actual money balance" due Ontario should not be claimed as cash. But if Mr. Mowat and his friends insist on claiming this total of \$2,800,000 as surplus, then they must also include it in Sandfield's surplus. They must either deduct it from theirs or add it to his—it is as broad as it is long. Deducting it, their surplus on the 31st December last, was \$4,752,000—\$2,800,000=\$1,952,000, or \$1,860,000 less than Sandfield's. Adding it, Sandfield's surplus was \$6,612 080 against Mr. Mowat's \$4,752,000, or \$1,860,000 more as above. There is another matter. From 1868 to 1873, this Province was compelled to pay to the Dominion Government an annual sum of \$291,000 for interest on the excess of debt. By the 112th and 118th sections of the British North America Act a stipulated amount of debt, viz., \$62,500,000, was assumed by the Dominion, and the excess of debt over that amount, viz., \$10,500,000 devolved on Ontario and Quebec, the former becoming responsible for five-ninths, or \$5,833,000, the interest of which at 5 per cent., viz., \$291,000, became an annual charge on the revenues of Ontario, and was paid until the Tilley Act of May, 1873, placed the whole \$10,500,000 on the Dominion. During the recent Dominion campaign Mr. Mowat more than once pointed to the large increase in the Dominion debt in 1873, as an instance of Tory extravagance—concealing from the electors the fact that the larger portion of that increase was due to the Dominion relieving the two old Provinces of this debt and the annual charge on it. From 1868 to 1871 inclusive, Sandfield paid on this account a total of \$1,164,000. From

1874 to 1877 inclusive, Mr. Mowat has been saved that payment; in other words, his surplus ought to show an increase over Sandfield's of \$1,164,000 owing to the relief afforded by the Tilley Act.

Another and a more ingenious if not less dishonest dodge in vogue among Reform stump-speakers is thus: They take the expenditure in 1868, viz., \$1,182,400, and the expenditure of 1871, viz., \$1,816,900, deduct the former from the latter and exhibit the remainder, viz., \$634,500. Then they deduct the expenditure in 1872, viz., \$2,220,700 from the expenditure in 1878, viz., \$2,902,400, and exhibit the remainder, viz., \$681,700; and proceed: "From 1868 to 1871, the expenditure increased \$634,500, or at the average rate of \$158,000 a year; while from 1872 to 1878, under Reform rule, the increase has been \$681,700, or only \$97,000 a year. Presto! the fulfilment of our pledge of economy!" This is a clever though somewhat clumsy trick. To get at the average expenditure, divide the expenditure in 1868-71 by 4, the number of years; and the expenditure in 1872-8 by 7:

<i>Under Sandfield.</i>	<i>Under Reform.</i>
1868....\$1,182,400	1872....\$2,220,700
1869....1,444,600	1873....2,940,800
1870....1,580,700	1874....3,871,500
1871....1,816,900	1875....3,604,500
	1876....3,140,600
	1877....3,117,400
	1878....2,902,400
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4)\$6,024,600	7)\$21,797,900
\$1,506,150	\$3,113,985

Thus the average expenditure under Reform has actually been more than double the expenditure under Sandfield. The same process applied to the strictly controllable expenditure:

<i>Under Sandfield.</i>	<i>Under Reform.</i>
1868....\$1,043,500	1872....\$1,482,600
1869.... 1,016,000	1873..... 1,765,400
1870.... 1,092,600	1874..... 1,786,600
1871.... 1,223,100	1875.... 1,827,400
	1876.... 1,895,200
	1877.... 2,003,000
	1878.... 2,058,400
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4)\$4,375,200	7)\$12,818,600
\$1,093,800	\$1,831,230

In other words, the average controllable expenditure under Reform has exceeded that under Sandfield by nearly \$750,000 a year! If this be economy, what is extravagance? If we go on in this way, nothing can save us from direct taxation. Our resources are nearing exhaustion point. Of the once vast timber wealth of the Province, only about 10,000 square miles now remain. Five

thousand square miles of limits were auctioned off in the fall of 1872 by Mr. R. W. Scott, of whom the *Globe* of the 19th August, 1869, in referring to a rumour that he was about to enter Sandfield's Cabinet, said: "In the Crown Lands office, Mr. Scott would be in an especial degree the lumberers' man, as he has been the lumberers' champion on the floor of the Legislature." The best mineral lands in the Lake Superior region passed five years ago into the hands of remorseless speculators. The school lands are fast settling up. In ten years at the outside—unless the people put the management of their affairs into the hands of men who are Reformers in something more than name—the surplus will have been exhausted in meeting deficits, the main sources of revenue will be dry, and nothing will remain to meet the annual outlay but taxes wrung directly from the people.

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## NOTES ON THE EXPENDITURE.

### MINISTERS' SALARIES.

In 1871 the salaries of Ministers were as follows :

Premier .....	\$4,000
Treasurer .....	3,200
Crown Lands Commissioner..	3,200
Public Works Commissioner.	3,200
Provincial Secretary.....	3,200
Commissioner of Education..	4,000
	<hr/>
	\$20,800

The salary of Dr. Ryerson, Commissioner of Education, is included in the above for purposes of comparison, because that Department is now in charge of a sixth Minister. The *Globe* used to complain that these salaries were exorbitant, yet Mr. Mowat did not hesitate to increase them at a time when the revenues could ill afford it, and when economy would have been the first object of a true Reformer. The increase was as follows :

Premier .....	\$5,500
Treasurer .....	4,500
Crown Lands Commissioner..	4,500
Public Works Commissioner.	4,500
Provincial Secretary.....	4,500
Minister of Education.....	4,500
	<hr/>
	\$28,000

Or an increase of \$7,200 a year. Last session the Premier, anxious to make a show of economy on his death-bed, reduced the salaries to the following amounts :

Premier .....	\$5,000
Treasurer .....	4,000
Crown Lands Commissioner..	4,000
Public Works Commissioner.	4,000
Provincial Secretary.....	4,000
Minister of Education.....	4,000
	<hr/>
	\$25,000

So that the total is still \$4,200 more than the total of the Cabinet salaries under Sandfield. The Opposition made determined efforts from time to time to reduce these and other salaries. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 275-286) they moved a series of resolutions to that effect. Mr. Meredith moved as follows :

“ That in the opinion of this House, the salaries of Ministers should be fixed at \$3,500, with \$1,000 additional for the Premier ; that the salaries of the deputy heads of the Departments should not exceed \$2,500, and that all other salaries of the Departmental officers for which appropriations have not already been made, and which are in excess of \$800 should be reduced by ten *per centum* of the amount thereof, but not so as to reduce any such salary to an amount below \$800; and that the said resolution be forthwith referred back to the Committee of Supply, with instructions to reduce the item under the head of Executive Council and Attorney-General's office accordingly.”

The majority who voted this down was composed of the following so-called Reformers :

Ballantyne,	Lyon (Halton),
Baxter,	McCrany,
Bethune,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McLeod,
Bonfield,	McMahon,
Chisholm,	Massie,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Master,
Clarke (Wellington),	Mowat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Pardee,
Currie,	Patterson,
Deroche,	Paxton,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Finlayson,	Ross,
Fraser,	Sexton,
Gibson,	Sinclair,
Graham,	Snetsinger,
Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Watterworth,
Hardy,	Widdifield,
Hargraff,	Williams,
Hay,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood,
Lyon (Algoma),	

Similar resolutions were moved in amendment to the several items of appropriations for Departmental salaries, and voted down by the Ministerialists. It is quite clear that if, as Reformers contended, Ministers' salaries in Sandfield's time were excessive, the salaries of this Cabinet, especially considering the changed condition of the revenue and expenditure, and the pressing necessity for economy in public as well as in private affairs, are much too large. Those who condemned Sandfield for paying himself and his colleagues too much, cannot consistently support Mowat in this particular, nor any of his followers.

### WELL-PAID OFFICIALS.

In 1871 the Speaker was paid \$1,000 per session and \$450 indemnity, or \$1,450 for eight hours' work a day, for, on the average, fifty working days; or three dollars and a half an hour. Under Reform

his salary was increased to \$1,500 and his indemnity to \$800, so that he drew \$2,300 in all, or about six dollars an hour. Last session the indemnity was reduced to \$600, and the salary to \$1,250. Mr. Speaker, therefore, is now paid \$1,850 for his session's work, or something over four dollars and a half an hour for his services in the chair. Last session the Opposition sought to make a reduction here, and (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 299) Mr. Scott moved, seconded by Mr. Lauder, that Mr. Speaker's salary be reduced by the sum of \$500, so as to bring it down to the original figure. This resolution was voted down by the following Reformers:—

Appleby,	Lyon (Algoma)
Ballantyne,	Lyon (Halton),
Baxter,	McCraney,
Bethune,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McMahon,
Bonfield,	Massie,
Chisholm,	Master,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Miller,
Clarke (Wellington)	Mowat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Pardee,
Currie,	Patterson,
Deroche,	Paxton,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Finlayson,	Ross,
Fraser,	Sexton,
Gibson,	Sinclair,
Graham,	Springer,
Grant,	Striker,
Harcourt,	Watterworth,
Hardy,	Widdifield,
Hargraff,	Williams,
Hay,	Wilson,
Hunter,	Wood,
Lane,	

In 1871 the Clerk of the Assembly was paid \$1,400 a year, with free quarters and attendance in the buildings. He works during the session, say two months, and for two months afterwards, preparing

the journals, and so forth; in all for about one-third of the year. It is not exceedingly hard work, even while it lasts. It requires no professional training. Anybody with a fair education could do it. Fourteen hundred a year was therefore remuneration enough, but under Reform it has been increased to \$1,800. Mr. Meredith's motion, as given above, aimed to reduce this and other salaries in excess of \$800 by ten per cent. This would have left the Clerk with \$1,620 a year, but Mr. Mowat and his followers persistently rejected that and similar resolutions. Another highly paid officer is the Clerk of the Executive Council. In 1871 he received \$1,600 a year; now he draws \$2,800. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 275) Mr. Deacon moved, seconded by Mr. Scott, in amendment to the resolution providing for the salaries, &c., of the Executive Council and Attorney-General's Department:

"That the resolution be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the Committee of Supply, with instructions to reduce the item of \$2,800 for the salary of the Clerk of the Executive Council and Deputy of the Attorney-General to \$2,500."

This motion, which certainly would have done no injustice to the official referred to, was voted down by the Reformers on the division which Mr. Meredith's amendment respecting Ministers' salaries, &c., was voted down.

In 1871 the Inspector of Public Institutions was paid \$2,000 a year: he now draws \$3,000. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 281) the Opposition moved to reduce his salary to \$2,500, but their resolution was voted down by the following Reformers:—

Appleby,	Lyon (Halton),
Ballantyne,	McCrane,
Baxter,	McLaws,
Bethune,	McLeod,
Bishop,	McMahon,
Bonfield,	Massie,

Chisholm,	Master,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Mowat,
Clarke (Wellington),	O'Donoghue,
Cole,	Pardee,
Crooks,	Patterson,
Currie,	Paxton,
Deroche,	Robinson,
Ferris,	Ross,
Finlayson,	Sexton,
Fraser,	Sinclair,
Gibson,	Snetsinger,
Graham,	Springer,
Grant,	Striker,
Harcourt,	Watterworth,
Hardy,	Widdifield,
Hargraft,	Williams,
Hay,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood,
Lyon (Algoma).	

In 1871 the Assistant Commissioner of Crown Lands was paid \$2,600 a year, he now draws \$2,800. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 282) the Opposition moved to reduce it to \$2,500, but their amendment was voted down by the following Reformers:—

Appleby,	Lyon (Algoma),
Ballantyne,	McCrane,
Baxter,	McLaws,
Bethune,	McLeod,
Bishop,	McMahon,
Bonfield,	Massie,
Chisholm,	Master,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Mowat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Patterson,
Currie,	Paxton,
Deroche,	Robinson,
Ferris,	Ross,
Finlayson,	Sexton,
Fraser,	Sinclair,
Gibson,	Snetsinger,
Graham,	Springer,
Grant,	Striker,
Harcourt,	Watterworth,
Hardy,	Widdifield,
Hay,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood,
Lyon (Halton).	



## SESSIONAL WRITERS, ETC.

The sum paid for sessional writers, &c., in 1868 was \$4,451, but Sandfield Macdonald brought about a decrease, and in 1871 the amount had fallen to \$4,212. Under Reform it speedily rose :

1872.....	\$ 5,197
1873.....	6,375
1874.....	7,061
1875.....	7,146
1876.....	10,083
1877.....	7,670
1878.....	8,043

Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 302), Mr. Creighton moved that attention be called "to the very rapid increase of expenditure for sessional writers, messengers, and pages, with a view to steps being taken to bring about a decrease." This motion was voted down by the following Reformers :

Appleby,	Lyon (Algoma),
Ballantyne,	Lyon (Halton)
Baxter,	McCraney,
Bethune,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McMahon,
Bonfield,	Massie,
Chisholm,	Master,
Clarke (Norfolk)	Muller,
Clarke (Wellington),	Mcwat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Pardee,
Deroche,	Patterson,
Ferris,	Paxton,
Finlayson,	Robinson,
Fraser,	Ross,
Gibson,	Sexton,
Graham,	Sinclair,
Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Striker,
Hardy,	Watterworth,
Hargraft,	Widdifield,
Hay,	Williams,
Hunter,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood.

The return brought down last session shows that while in 1873 the number of sessional writers was 17, and of messengers 16, there were 29 writers and 23 messengers last session.

## CROWN LANDS EXPENDITURE.

The following statement, taken from the Public Accounts, shows the revenue and expenditure of the Crown Lands Department since 1875 :

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1875.....	\$538,890	\$67,250
1876.....	534,446	70,770
1877.....	529,207	78,470
1878.....	445,191	70,509

The revenue will be found in the Receipts and Payments sheet of the Public Accounts, and is composed of the items under the head of Grammar School lands, Crown Land sales, Woods and Forests, and Casual Fees. The expenditure is given on the payment side of the same account. This table shows a steady decline in revenue, and a large increase in expenditure. The salaries of the officers of the Department in Toronto have run as follows :

1875.....	\$39,130
1876.....	39,860
1877.....	40,060
1878.....	41,780

Last session, on the item of appropriation for the salaries of this Department, the Opposition moved three amendments (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 282-284), first, to reduce the salary of the Commissioner by \$500 ; second, to reduce the salary of the Assistant Commissioner from \$2,800 to \$2,500 ; and, third, to enforce a reduction of ten per cent. on all salaries other than those of the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner, above \$800, but not so as to reduce any such salary to an amount below \$800.

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This third amendment was voted down  
by the following Reformers :

Appleby,	Lyon (Algoma),
Ballantyne,	Lyon (Halton)
Baxter,	McCraney,
Bethune,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McLeod,
Bonfield,	McMahon,
Chisholm,	Massie,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Master,
Clarke (Wellington),	Mowat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Pardee,
Currie,	Patterson,
Deroche,	Paxton,
Ferrie,	Robinson,
Finlayson,	Ross,
Fraser,	Sexton,
Gibson,	Sinclair,
Graham,	Snettinger,
Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Striker,
Hardy,	Watterworth,
Hargraff,	Widdie,
Hay,	Williams,
Lane,	Wilson,
	Wood.

As early as the session of 1875-6 the Opposition protested against the growing cost of this Department (Journals of 1875-6, p. 117). Mr. Deacon moved that "this House regrets that in view of the continual increase in the annual expenditure of the Province and the large decrease in the resources of the Crown Lands Department, it has been called on to sanction so large an appropriation as \$50,590 for the service of 1876, and expresses its opinion that in view of the considerations aforesaid, every effort should be made to curtail as far as possible the expenditure of that Department." This was voted down by the Ministerialists.

### IMMIGRATION.

The amounts spent on Immigration since 1875 are as follows :

1875.....	\$94,060
1876.....	45,201
1877.....	46,265
1878.....	31,975

\$217,501

The Immigration reports show the following arrivals of immigrants in this Province :

1875.....	17,655
1876.....	11,432
1877.....	11,654
1878.....	13,055

The *per capita* cost of each immigrant has therefore been as follows :

1875.....	\$5 32
1876.....	3 95
1877.....	3 96
1878.....	2 44

This shows a considerable reduction ; but it is difficult to make a comparison in this respect, for no returns are kept of the number of immigrants who leave the country after a brief residence. Since 1874 the labor market has been in a depressed condition. Hundreds of Canadians have been unable to find employment, and the expenditure of nearly a quarter of a million to induce strangers to flock to an overcrowded market, is a fair subject for discussion. The Opposition have taken the ground that it was not advisable under such circumstances to make costly exertions to secure immigrants : while the Ministerialists, to whom the employment of European agents and of agents at the principal points in the Province gives a large amount of patronage, take the opposite view. In 1875-6 (Journals of that year, p. 120) Hon. William Macdougall moved as follows :

"That in view of the depressed condition of the manufacturing industries of this Province, and of the surplus labor now seeking employment in all parts of

the country, it is in the opinion of this House inexpedient to offer any special aid or encouragement to immigrants from other countries for the year 1876."

This was voted down by Ministerialists. In 1878 (Journals, p. 147) Mr. Meredith moved as follows:

"That this House is of opinion that it is inexpedient, under existing circumstances, to incur any expense for promoting immigration to this Province beyond that to which the Province is now committed by the arrangement with the Dominion, and that the said resolution be not now concurred in, but be referred back to the Committee of Supply, with instructions to reduce the item by the sum of \$20,000."

This was also voted down. Last session (Votes and Proceedings, p. 319) Mr. Morris moved "that in view of the condition of the labor market of the Province, it is not desirable that any greater expenditure than that which is necessary under the existing agreement with the Dominion Government should be incurred in promoting immigration during the present year," and that the appropriation be reduced accordingly. This was voted down by the following Ministerialists:

Ballantyne,	Lyon (Algoma),
Bishop,	Lyon (Halton),
Bonfield,	McCraney,
Chisholm,	McLaws,
Clarke (Norfolk),	McMahon,
Clarke (Wellington),	Massie,
Cole,	Master,
Crooks,	Miller,
Currie,	Mowat,
Deroche,	Pardee,
Ferris,	Patterson,
Fraser,	Ross,
Gibson,	Sexton,
Graham,	Sinclair,
Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Striker,

Hardy,  
Hay,  
Hunter,  
Lanc,

Watterworth,  
Williams,  
Wood,

## THE INDEMNITY.

The indemnity paid to members was originally intended to be a fair compensation for the expenses they incurred while acting as such. It was not intended, it was not pretended, that the member should receive a salary. In the olden times, members received a small allowance *per diem*, and were satisfied. The electors of York, Oxford, Ontario, and elsewhere will recollect that their representatives were paid but just such sums as would recompense them for their bare expenses of living and the expenses of travelling to and fro. In the United States they also treated and do treat their members in this way.

The indemnity in Sandfield's time was \$450. It was considered enough; at all events nobody, certainly not any member of the Government, sought to increase it. But Mr. Mowat, having increased the salaries of Ministers, was willing, if not anxious, that the indemnity should be increased. True, he made no public effort to that end, but he at least countenanced the raise by members themselves. Correspondence has been published, private and confidential, to shew that both sides of the House favored this increase; but it takes no argument to shew that unless the Cabinet had been inclined in that direction, no increase could have been made. They kept the purse strings. No minority, such as the Tory minority they derided, could have such access to the Treasury. The names of the Reform members who signed the round-robin have been published, but whatever the responsibility of Reform or Conservative members may have been, it is quite clear that the Cabinet, controlling the purse, and being the stewards of the

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people, are directly responsible to them for that increase. The Ministerial journals say the Opposition were as favorable to the increase as the Ministerialists. That granted, who had the power to grant the increase? Not the Opposition, nor a combination of Ministerialists and members of the Opposition, but Mr. Mowat. The private or semi-private correspondence of the Ministerialist party and the Opposition touching this matter, has no bearing directly upon the case. Mr. Mowat, as Premier, could have barred the increase had he been inclined; that he did not, is proof that he was a first party to the increase of the indemnity which, as he well knew, would in a measure be a set-off to the increase in the salaries of Ministers.

### THE COST OF LEGISLATION.

The enormous increase in the Cost of Legislation has been elsewhere pointed out. On the other hand Ministerial journals have in this and other branches of expenditure quoted the expenditure in Quebec, their argument being that the Quebec outlay, far exceeding that in Ontario, is a proof of the superior economy of the Ontario Reformers. This is not only a *non sequitur*, it is a disingenuous plea, for in Quebec the double Chamber and the dual language systems necessarily involve a larger expenditure, and those being *quasi* constitutional provisions it is not fair to hold either party responsible for them. If by the B. N. A. Act Ontario had to support two Chambers and two languages, *i. e.* if every public document had to be printed, first, in English, and then, secondly, after having been translated, in French, it would be scarcely fair to blame the Government of the day for the large expenditure in that regard.

Here is the increase in the Cost of Legislation :

1875 .....	\$219,462
1876 .....	286,591

1877 .....	277,302
1878 .....	295,369

It is not pretended by Mr. Mowat, who has boasted of his Law Reforms, that any measure he has put through the Legislature has materially decreased the cost of law. On the contrary, unhappy litigants, who have had experience in such matters, aver that the costs to them have been materially increased by his alleged "reforms." He is above all things a lawyer, and it is not at all likely that he would seek to decrease the bread and butter of his own profession. The Opposition have repeatedly striven to cut down the expenditure under this head. Last session (Votes and Proceedings of 1879, p. 302-3) Mr. Deacon moved, on the resolution to vote the appropriation for the Court of Chancery :

"That the resolution be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the committee of supply, with instructions to reduce all salaries under this head which are in excess of \$800 by ten per cent. of the amount thereof, but not so as to reduce any such salaries to an amount below \$800."

And the following Reformers voted against the motion :

Appleby,	Lyon (Algoma),
Ballantyne,	Lyon (Halton),
Baxter,	McCraney,
Bishop,	McLaws,
Bonfield,	McMahon,
Chisholm,	Massie,
Clarke (Norfolk)	Master,
Clarke (Wellington)	Miller,
Cole,	Mowat,
Crooks,	O'Donoghue,
Currie,	Pardee,
Deroche,	Patterson,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Finlayson,	Ross,
Fraser,	Sexton,
Gibson,	Sinclair,
Graham,	Snetsinger,

Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Striker,
Hardy,	Watterworth,
Hargraft,	Widdifield,
Hay,	Williams,
Hunter,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood.

On the item for the appropriation for the expenses of the Court of Queen's Bench, Mr. Lauder moved :

"That the resolution be not now concurred in, but be forthwith referred back to the committee of supply, with instructions to strike out the item of \$700, for the salary of the Assistant to the Clerk of Process, and to reduce all salaries under this head which are in excess of \$800 by ten per cent. of the amount thereof, but not so as to reduce any of such salaries to an amount below \$800."

And it was voted down by the following named Reformers :

Appleby,	Lyon (Algoma),
Ballantyne,	Lyon (Halton),
Baxter,	McCrane,
Bishop,	McLaws,
Bonfield,	McMahon,
Chisholm,	Massie,
Clarke (Norfolk)	Master,
Clarke (Wellington),	Miller,
Cole,	Mowat,
Crooks,	O'Donoghue,
Currie,	Pardee,
Deroche,	Patterson,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Finlayson,	Ross,
Fraser,	Sexton,
Gibson,	Sinclair,
Graham,	Snetsinger,
Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Striker,
Hardy,	Watterworth,
Hargraft,	Widdifield,
Hay,	Williams,
Hunter,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood.

The Opposition then moved that the salary of the Government detective, Mr. Murray, be reduced ; whereupon the following Reformers voted against the motion :—

Appleby,	Lyon (Halton),
Ballantyne,	McCrane,
Baxter,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McMahon,
Bonfield,	Massie,
Chisholm,	Master,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Miller,
Clarke (Wellington),	Mowat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Pardee,
Currie,	Patterson,
Deroche,	Paxton,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Fraser,	Ross,
Gibson,	Sexton,
Graham,	Sinclair,
Grant,	Snetsinger,
Harcourt,	Springer,
Hardy,	Striker,
Hargraft,	Watterworth,
Hay,	Widdifield,
Hunter,	Williams,
Lane,	Wilson,
Lyon (Algoma),	Wood.

The Opposition then moved that the salary of the stipendiary magistrate at Parry Sound be reduced from \$1,800 to \$1,400, and the following Reformers (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 307,) voted against the resolution :

Ballantyne,	McCrane,
Baxter,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McMahon,
Bonfield,	Massie,
Chisholm,	Master,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Miller,
Clarke (Wellington),	Mowat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Patterson,
Deroche,	Paxton,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Fraser,	Ross,

Gibson,  
Graham,  
Grant,  
Harcourt,  
Hardy,  
Hargraft,  
Hay,  
Hunter,  
Lane,  
Lyon (Algoma),  
Lyon (Halton).

Sexton,  
Sinclair,  
Snetsinger,  
Springer,  
Striker,  
Watterworth,  
Widdifield,  
Williams,  
Wilson,  
Wood,

Hardy,  
Hay,  
Hunter,  
Lane,  
Lyon (Algoma),  
Lyon (Halton),

Springer,  
Striker,  
Watterworth,  
Williams,  
Wood.

In amendment to the appropriation for the Education Depository, Mr. Broder moved that all the salaries over \$800 be reduced by ten per cent., and the following Reformers voted against the resolution :

### THE COST OF EDUCATION.

The Opposition have always approved of a liberal expenditure for education, but the enormous increase that has occurred in this branch leaves little room for doubt that the present system as administered by Mr. Crooks is extravagant out of all proportion. Here are the figures :

1875.....	\$503,312
1876.....	524,493
1877.....	550,984
1878.....	556,057

Last session (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 314-16) the Opposition on the appropriation for the inspection of Collegiate Institutes, moved that only two instead of three inspectors of High Schools should be appointed; and the following Reformers voted against the motion :

Bishop,	McCraneay,
Bonfield,	McLaws,
Chisholm,	McMahon,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Massie,
Clarke (Wellington),	Master,
Crooks,	Miller,
Currie,	Mowat,
Deroche,	O'Donoghue,
Ferris,	Patterson,
Fraser,	Robinson,
Gibson,	Ross,
Graham,	Sexton,
Grant,	Sinclair,

Appleby,	Lyon (Halton)
Bishop,	McCraneay,
Bonfield,	McLaws,
Chisholm,	McMahon,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Massie,
Clarke (Wellington),	Master,
Cole,	Miller,
Crooks,	Mowat,
Currie,	O'Donoghue,
Deroche,	Pardee,
Ferris,	Patterson,
Fraser,	Robinson,
Gibson,	Ross,
Graham,	Sexton,
Grant,	Sinclair,
Hardy,	Springer,
Hay,	Striker,
Hunter,	Watterworth,
Lane,	Williams,
Lyon (Algoma),	Wood.

Mr. Meredith then moved to reduce the salary of the Minister of Education by the sum of \$500; to reduce the salary of the Deputy-Minister by the same amount, and to reduce all other salaries over \$800 throughout the Department by ten per cent.; and the following Reformers voted against the motion :

Appleby,	Lyon (Halton),
Bishop,	McCraneay,
Bonfield,	McLaws,
Chisholm,	McMahon,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Massie,
Clarke (Wellington),	Master,
Cole,	Miller,



Crooks,  
Currie,  
Deroche,  
Ferris,  
Fraser,  
Gibson,  
Graham,  
Grant,  
Harcourt,  
Hardy,  
Hay,  
Hunter,  
Lane,  
Lyon (Algoma),

Mowat,  
O'Donoghue,  
Pardee,  
Patterson,  
Robinson,  
Ross,  
Sexton,  
Sinclair,  
Springer,  
Striker,  
Watterworth,  
Williams,  
Wood.

These Reformers, while vaguely admitting the necessity for economy, persistently opposed efforts for the reduction of Education salaries on the ground that it would injure the service. But there is no reason why the salaries of clerks in this service should not, equally with that of the clerk in the merchant's office or grocery store, be cut down in a time of public emergency. As a rule, Government officials draw more money for less work, and if economy in the one case be advisable, it could not involve injustice in the other.

### HIS HONOR'S SECRETARY.

The salaries of the Lieutenant-Governor's office have increased of late years, as will be seen by the tables given below :

1871.....	\$1,495
1872.....	1,600
1873.....	1,400
1874.....	1,400
1875.....	1,400
1876.....	2,544
1877.....	2,400
1878.....	2,400

The estimates for salaries for 1879 is also \$2,400. His Honor's "private secretary" was never overburdened with work, but under Reform an "official

secretary" has made his appearance, whose duties it is difficult to define. This "official secretary" is his Honor's nephew and a law student, bound by his articles to "give his whole time" to the firm to which he is apprenticed; and if he observes these conditions he cannot in the nature of things do much for the salary he draws, viz., \$800, from the Ontario Treasury. Last session on discovering how matters stood, the Opposition moved that the appropriation for his salary be struck out, and the following Reformers voted against the motion :

Appleby,	Lyon (Halton),
Ballantyne,	McCraney,
Baxter,	McLaws,
Bethune,	McLeod,
Bishop,	McMahon,
Bonfield,	Massie,
Chisholm,	Master,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Miller,
Clarke (Wellington),	Mowat,
Cole,	O'Donoghue,
Crooks,	Pardee,
Currie,	Patterson,
Deroche,	Paxton,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Finlayson,	Ross,
Fraser,	Sexton,
Gibson,	Sinclair,
Graham,	Snetsinger,
Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Striker,
Hardy,	Watterworth,
Hargraft,	Widdifield,
Hay,	Williams,
Hunter,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood,
Lyon (Algoma),	

In fact these Reformers voted to maintain a sinecure of their own creating. His Honor draws \$10,000 a year from the Dominion Treasury; and should not ask the Reform party to provide for his relatives.

## MR. MOWAT'S ECONOMY.

It is held that Mr. Mowat made large reductions last session ; but this, as will be seen by a comparison of the estimates of 1879 with the statement of the receipts and expenditure for 1878, is not wholly true. It may be said, indeed, that Ministers have done no more in this direction than to cut down their own salaries by \$500 each, and the members' indemnity by \$200—making in all a reduction of about \$20,000 a year. But it was under Mr. Mowat that his salary was increased from \$4,000 to \$5,500, so that he is giving back only a third of what he took. It was under the Reform regime, too, that the salaries of the other Ministers were increased from \$3,200 to \$4,500, so that Messrs. Crooks, Fraser, Pardee, Wood and Hardy will still enjoy \$800 a year more than the corrupt and extravagant colleagues of Sandfield Macdonald ventured to draw in more prosperous times than these. The reduction of the indemnity to \$600 still leaves it \$150 a session, or about \$3 a day more than members were paid under the "Patent Combination." The expenditure under the heads of Civil Government and Legislation is the field where the true economist would begin his work ; and it is here where Mr. Mowat has made his small reduction. But look at what he has left undone :

	1871.	1879.
Civil Government...	\$114,613	\$155,847
Legislation .....	74,672	111,250
	<hr/> \$189,285	<hr/> \$267,097

The sum charged to Legislation in 1871 was \$94,177, but of this sum \$19,505 was a special charge for the general elections that year. While in these branches, then, the Premier has, on the eve of a general election, screwed up courage enough to make a reduction of \$20,000,

his expenditure is still \$80,000 more than that of Sandfield, whom Reformers jeered at for his extravagance. Outside these petty reductions the estimates for 1879 vary but little from those of 1878. Where public works have been completed, no further expenditure is contemplated, but that is not anything to the credit of the economy account of the Government. In Education there is an apparent reduction of \$28,000, half of it in the item for maps and apparatus ; in the Administration of Justice there is also an apparent reduction of \$14,000 ; in the Maintenance of Public Institutions of \$10,000, and in Immigration of \$10,000. In Miscellaneous, Hospitals and Charities, Arts and Scientific Institutions, and other minor heads, slight increases are proposed. The principal reduction is in Public Buildings, where there is a reduction of \$110,000, \$70,000 of it on the Hamilton Asylum, which is nearly finished.

It is not too much to say, moreover, that but for the determined action of the Opposition at the beginning of the session Mr. Mowat would not have made the small reductions in Ministers' salaries and members' indemnity which he did. On the 13th January Mr. Lauder moved in amendment to the third paragraph of the address in reply to the speech from the throne :—"That while we rejoice with your Honour in the development of any enterprise tending to the advancement of the agricultural interests of the country, we are of opinion that it is of essential importance that the annual expenditure should be kept within the annual revenue of the Province." Mr. Parkhill moved in amendment to the amendment : "That while rejoicing with your Honour in the development of all enterprises tending to the advancement of the agricultural interests of Ontario, we are of the opinion that the administration of the affairs of the Province should be conducted with the utmost economy consistent with

efficiency, and that in view of the general depression existing in the Province, the expenses of the Legislature and Civil Government should be reduced, especially as regards the salaries of Ministers and the indemnity to members of this House."

A debate ensued upon Mr. Parkhill's motion which continued for eight days, viz., until the 21st January, when the resolution was voted down by the following Reformers :

Appleby,	McCraney,
Ballantyne,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McLeod,
Bonfield,	McMahon,
Chisholm	Massie,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Master,
Clarke (Wellington),	Miller,
Cole,	Mowat,
Crooks,	O'Donoghue,
Deroche,	Patterson,
Ferris,	Paxton,
Finlayson,	Robinson,
Fraser,	Ross,
Gibson,	Sexton,
Graham,	Sinclair,
Grant,	Snetsinger,
Harcourt,	Springer,
Hardy,	Striker,
Hay,	Watterworth,
Hunter,	Williams,
Lane,	Wilson,
Lyon (Algoma),	Wood.
Lyon (Halton),	

Dr. Widdifield then moved in amendment to Mr. Lauder's amendment: "And we beg to assure your Honour that having regard to the efficiency and proper administration of the public service, we will use our best endeavours towards keeping the actual expenditure on account of Provincial affairs within the revenue." This motion was carried; and the third paragraph of the address in reply then consisted of the following sentences :

"That we share his Honour's satisfaction in noticing that, while our agriculturists are suffering from the low prices of grain and other produce, an already extensive and growing trade between Ontario and Europe in live cattle, horses, sheep, meats, and dairy products, in which many of our enterprising citizens are now engaged, with, we trust, profitable results to themselves, and certainly to the benefit of the country at large. And we beg to assure your Honour that having regard to the efficiency and proper administration of the public services, we will," &c.

This is a queer medley. But the points to be noted are, first, that after a debate, extending over eight days, Ministerialists were forced to adopt, in effect, the motion of the Opposition in favour of economy; and, secondly, that throughout this discussion not a word was said of the intention of Ministers to reduce their salaries and the indemnity. The reduction was beyond doubt an afterthought, and the result of the debate on Mr. Parkhill's resolution. A singular matter in the Estimates of 1879 confirms this belief. At page 7 of the Estimates the first item for Legislation reads: "To be voted per Statement A—\$111,250," whereas the next item, which is A, reads: "To be voted for the present session and for salaries, &c., in 1879, \$131,350." Here is an alteration of \$20,100, which must have been made during the printing of the estimates—and, *strange to say*, \$20,100 is within \$500 of the exact amount of the reduction in Ministers' salaries and members' indemnity.

# MR. MEREDITH'S MOTION.

Mr. Meredith brought the whole question of the expenditure to a direct issue when he moved in amendment to a motion to go into Committee of Supply (Votes and Proceedings, 1879, p. 135) as follows :—

“ That the ordinary expenditure of the Province increased from \$1,056,541 in the year 1868, to \$1,173,600 in the year 1871, under the administration of the late Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, being an increase at the rate of less than twelve per cent. for the four years; while the like expenditure has increased from \$1,173,600 in the year 1871, to \$2,109,925 in the year 1878, under the administration of Mr. Blake and the present administration, being an increase at the rate of more than seventy per cent. for the seven years; that the ordinary revenue of the Province was \$2,057,304 in the year 1868, and \$2,217,588 in the year 1878; and that this House regards the continuous and rapid increase in the ordinary expenses of Government as excessive and unwise, especially in view of the almost stationary character of the revenue, and is of opinion that, unless more strict economy be observed in the general outlay of the Province, grave evils will speedily arise, a resort to direct taxation in order to avoid the accumulation of a Provincial debt be rendered inevitable, and the existence of our present system of Federal Government imperilled, a result which would be most disastrous to the best interests of the whole country.”

Mr. Meredith arrived at his figures by deducting what is known as the extraordinary from the ordinary expenditure in each year, thus :—

1868.	
Total Expenditure .....	\$1,182,388 08
[Less.]	
Public Buildings, capital account—	
Government Buildings.....	\$ 47,659 81
Lieut.-Gov. Residence.....	2,836 00
Government House.....	27,709 64
Provincial Asylum, Toronto,	47,640 84
	<hr/> 125,846 29
Ordinary expenditure 1868....	\$1,056,541 74
1871.	
Total Expenditure .....	1,316,867 00
[Less.]	
Payments of Special Funds—	
(1) Municipalities Fund.....	\$ 68,884 00
(2) Land Improvement Fund	94,258 00
	<hr/> \$163,142 00
Relief Ottawa and Saguenay	
Fire Sufferers.....	30,000 00
General Elections .....	19,605 00
Public Buildings and Works.	450,020 00
	<hr/> 643,227 00
Total ordinary expenditure	
1871 .....	1,173,600 00
Total expenditure 1878—see	
page 29 of abstract of Re-	
ceipts and Expenditures..	2,408,534 02
[Less.]	
Public Buildings.....	272,294 83
Public Works.....	26,313 26
	<hr/> 298,608 09
	<hr/> \$2,109,925 93

In this method of dealing with the expenditure Mr. Meredith excluded,

(1.) Expenditure for public works and buildings which is so-called capital expenditure, and does not, as is claimed, fairly enter into a comparison of the ordinary or normal expenditure.

(2.) Payments on account of trust funds, such as municipalities and land improvement funds, which is really not expenditure of an ordinary character, but should be deductions from Crown Lands revenues.

(3.) The \$30,000 paid in 1871 for the relief of the Ottawa and Saguenay fire

sufferers—exceptional expenditure of an extraordinary character.

(4.) The expenses of the general election of 1871.

Mr. Meredith's method was a very favorable one for the Government, because he included in the expenditure of 1871 \$29,712.56 expended for Immigration, which was an item that did not appear at all in the accounts of 1868—in fact an entirely new service—and which might properly, for the purpose of comparing 1868 with 1871, be deducted from the expenditure of the latter year. Then again the refunds in 1868 were only \$13,229.39, while in 1871 they amounted to \$23,098.82. This expenditure is not of an ordinary character, and is in fact a deduction from the Crown Lands revenues. It represents sums paid as deposit on lands which are not sold eventually, sums allowed for deficiencies in quantities, and such like items. Strictly the expenditure should have been deducted on both years. The refunds in 1878 amounted to only \$11,588.75, though in the abstract they are placed at \$56,148.29. This, however, is, by including as Refunds the payments on Municipalities and Land Improvement Funds.

#### REVENUE IN 1868.

As to the Revenue in 1868,  
it was.....\$2,260,176 49

#### Deduct.

Account Municipal Loan  
Fund.....\$134,963 65

Account Municipal Loan  
Fund..... 68,178 56

————— \$202,872 21

————— \$2,057,304 28

#### REVENUE IN 1878.

Dominion Subsidy.....	\$1,333,569 42
Territorial Revenue.....	445,191 62
Public Interest.....	67,999 76
Interest.....	156,251 46
Education.....	51,880 91
License.....	75,529 85
Law Stamps.....	66,291 82
Casual.....	20,292 85
Algoma Taxes.....	581 04
	<hr/> \$2,217,588 73

The deductions from 1868 were made because the sums in questions were of an exceptional character as compared with 1878. Mr. Meredith's motion was voted down by the following Reformers :

Appleby,	Lyon (Algoma),
Ballantyne,	Lyon (Halton),
Baxter,	McCraney,
Bishop,	McLaws,
Chisholm,	McMahon,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Massie,
Clarke (Wellington),	Master,
Cole,	Mowat,
Crooks,	O'Donoghue,
Currie,	Paxton,
Deroche,	Robinson,
Ferris,	Ross,
Finlayson,	Sexton,
Fraser,	Sinclair,
Gibson,	Snetsinger,
Graham,	Springer,
Grant,	Striker,
Harcourt,	Waterworth,
Hardy,	Widdifield,
Hargraft,	Williams,
Hay,	Wilson,
Hunter,	Wood,
Lane.	

# THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

On the 12th February Mr. Creighton moved, "That in the opinion of this House it would be in the public interest to have the Public Accounts and Departmental reports printed as soon as possible after the expiration of the year to which they relate, and to have the same circulated immediately upon being printed, whether the House shall be in session at such time or not; and that it be an instruction to the Committee on Printing to consider and report on the best method of accomplishing this end."

After an amendment by Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Meredith moved that the Public Accounts for 1878 in detail be placed in the hands of the people "before the ensuing general elections." This was voted down by the following Reformers :

Appleby,	Lyon (Halton),
Ballantyne,	McCraney,
Baxter,	McLaws,
Bishop,	McLeod,
Chisholm,	McMahon,
Clarke (Norfolk),	Massie
Clarke (Wellington),	Master,
Cole,	Mowat,
Crooks,	Pardee,
Deroche,	Paxton,
Ferris,	Robinson,
Finlayson,	Ross,
Fraser,	Sexton,
Gibson,	Sinclair,
Graham,	Snetsinger,
Grant,	Springer,
Harcourt,	Striker,
Hardy,	Watterworth,
Hargraft,	Widdifield,
Hay,	Williams,
Hunter,	Wilson,
Lane,	Wood.
Lyon (Algoma),	



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# S P E E C H

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## W. R. MEREDITH, M.P.P.

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At a Conservative Mass Meeting, in the interest of the three candidates contesting the County of York, held in the Masonic Hall, Richmond Hill, on Friday, April 25th, 1879, W. R. Meredith, Esq., M.P.P. (Opposition Leader), delivered the following Speech.

Mr. Meredith, on rising to address the meeting, was greeted with loud and prolonged cheering.

After expressing the gratification it afforded him to appear before the electors of the County of York, he said he regretted that Mr. Badgerow, one of the gentlemen who was seeking their suffrages in one of the Ridings, had not thought it prudent, or had not felt it to be his duty, to appear before them and give his views on the political issues of the day. Mr. Badgerow would have received from the conductors of the meeting, and from that intelligent audience, the fairest play in the world, for it had always been the policy of the Liberal Conservative party at all times to give their opponents fair play. (Cheers.) It was certainly extraordinary that Mr. Badgerow should have refused to take a seat on the platform that evening, when they were about to discuss a most important matter—the performance of one of the highest duties

which pertained to a free people, viz., the selection of persons who for the next four years were to take charge of the government of the affairs of this large and wealthy Province. It was, therefore, desirable that on occasions like this there should be the freest discussion, so that the public might hear what would be said on both sides, and so be placed in a position to judge of the relative merits of the different issues submitted to them.

### **The Administration of Mr. Mowat**

were upon their trial before the people, and upon the 5th of June next the electors would decide whether that Government were entitled to confidence or not, and upon their record it would be for the people to pass judgment. In order to ascertain how far the administration of Mr. Mowat and his immediate predecessor, Mr. Blake, had been true to the principles professed by them, it would be necessary to compare their conduct during their term of office with the conduct of the Government they had ousted from office. No fair-minded person in the community would object if he thought his administration had been honest and capable, to have its record compared in this way. What was the condition in which Mr. Sandfield

Macdonald left the affairs of this Province? At the inception of Confederation, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was in the position of having been a life-long Reformer, and of having battled for the rights of the people and for responsible Government in the days when it was something to do that, and when it was a more risky and difficult thing for a man to stand up for popular rights than it is now. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was none of these latter-day Reformers who have never scented the smoke of battle, but who claim the name of Reformers without understanding the principles of reform. Mr. Sandfield Macdonald felt that under the new era of things established by Confederation, the time had come when the bitter feelings of the old parties should pass away, and that it would be in the interests of the country if he called to his councils, in forming a Government, men who would be actuated by a desire to serve the country faithfully, no matter whether Reformers or Conservatives. He formed an administration of this kind, and remained in power for four years. He would pass to the

### Record of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald

as the best proof of the wisdom of his policy. With the eye of a far-seeing statesman, he perceived in the moment of the initiation of Confederation that it was necessary to the very existence of Confederation that there should be the strictest economy in the administration of public affairs, and unless this was observed the very institution might be destroyed. Anyone who was acquainted with the history of past years, and who would read the public records of the Province, would see that he kept this in view throughout the whole of his career, and administered the affairs of the Province with economy. It was said his policy was a cheese-paring one, and

not in the public interests. He (Mr. Meredith) utterly denied the charge. While Mr. Sandfield Macdonald was careful of the money of the people, and would not have it squandered in extravagant official salaries or in any other way, he was fully alive to the interests of this great and growing Province, and it was his mind, and the minds of those associated with him, that fashioned and put into force all those great schemes which have gone on, and for which those who traduced him and drove him into his grave now take credit. Who was it but Sandfield Macdonald that initiated the railway aid system, for which the present Administration claim credit? He foresaw that by placing a million and a half in railways there would be given a great impetus to Provincial trade and progress, and the result has shown that in this he was a far-seeing statesman. The Reformers pointed with pride to the public institutions scattered throughout the land, such as the lunatic asylums, agricultural college, central prison; but what brought these into existence? It was the scheme of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, and to him and his Government the credit was due. (Cheers.) After four years of office, after he had faithfully and economically administered the affairs of the Province, and had accumulated a cash surplus, represented by investments in bonds, &c., of nearly four millions, after he had established most of the public institutions, and had announced his policy in regard to the railway distribution, an appeal was made to the people, and owing to false issues being presented, he was not supported by the same majority in Parliament he had previous to the elections. He was, however, supported by a majority of the people's representatives. What did Mr. Blake and the Opposition then do? At a time when certain seats were unrepresented, these men who clamoured recently for a longer duration

of Parliament absent, the ment and one of wh (Mr. Meredith Macdonald a majority, and the out of po credit of One of th Reform p between th ernments. proper tha ance, and Mr. Sandfi gether app the electio to announc should not also objecte the ground ernment b Cameron a bers of it, find fault w Sandfield I affairs of t nevertheless it was a co position th interference entatives of his underta buildings fo money. Th grounds on people. Th was how fa

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of Parliament because one member was absent, these men defeated the Government and put them out by a majority of one of what remained of the House. He (Mr. Meredith) contended that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had not been defeated by a majority of the people's representatives, and the means by which he was driven out of power did not redound to the credit of the Reform party. (Cheers.) One of the principal cries raised by the Reform party was against an alliance between the Dominion and Ontario Governments. They said that it was improper that there should be such an alliance, and that Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Sandfield Macdonald should go together appealing to the country before the elections. Mr. Blake went so far as to announce that such a state of things should not exist again. The Reformers also objected to the then Government on the ground that it was a coalition Government by reason of Messrs. M. C. Cameron and John Carling being members of it, and although they could not find fault with the manner in which Mr. Sandfield Macdonald administered the affairs of the country, they said that nevertheless it must be corrupt because it was a coalition. They also took the position that his railway policy was an interference with the rights of the representatives of the people, and objected to his undertaking the location of public buildings for which the Legislature voted money. These were the four principal grounds on which they appealed to the people. The question for consideration was how far

### Had the Reform Party been Consistent

with the professions upon the strength of which they induced the people to place them in power. Why, the very

act which created the Government of Mr. Blake was one by which he abandoned the principles upon which he had objected to the Government of Sandfield Macdonald, for by taking Mr. Scott, a strong Conservative, into the Cabinet, he formed a coalition. He (Mr. Meredith) cared not how high Mr. Blake's reputation was; by that act he was guilty of a political wrong for which his party should be held responsible. (Cheers.) What position had the Reform Government taken in regard to their principle about the alliance between the two Governments? From first to last, there had been the closest alliance between the Governments of Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Mowat. At the last general elections for the Commons, in every constituency in the country almost every member of the Ontario Administration was going about advocating the cause of the Dominion Government. Was not this an abnegation of a principle they had professed? Mr. Mowat, who claimed to be a conscientious man, felt it to be so, for in addressing a public meeting in the interests of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, he felt constrained to say he came there not as the Hon. Mr. Mowat but as a private citizen. But it was impossible for any member of the Cabinet to divest himself of the influence of his local position, and this was not the intention, and in this matter also they were false to the pledges made to the people. (Cheers.) Then in regard to the million and a half voted for railways, the position taken by Sandfield Macdonald was that the money having been appropriated by Parliament for the purpose of building railways, the Government, while responsible to the House, should say to what railways that aid should be given. The Opposition objected, and said that each appropriation should be submitted to the vote of the House. There might be something in that contention, but he asked, what did they do when they got

into power? They repealed Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Act, and made provision that the Government might, by order-in-Council, make appropriations for these railways, which should be submitted for the assent of Parliament; but they brought these appropriations down to the House at the close of the session, and refused to give the representatives of the people five days to discuss them, but pushed them through *en bloc*, and voted away hundreds of thousands of dollars of the people's money. Was this a substantial compliance with their pledges? Time should have been given for due consideration of the claims of the railway companies, and without this the proceeding was a farce, and the arrangement of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald a far better one. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the location of public buildings, it was thought that if they had a certain sum with which to build, it should be stated at what place the buildings should be located. They did not do this, however, but availed themselves of a provision in the constitution, by which it was impossible for an appropriation to be made without a recommendation from the Lieut.-Governor, and when money was recommended, they brought down also a recommendation of his Honour that the expenditure should be at a particular place, and the House had no alternative but to pass the proposition, or vote it down altogether, as no amendment could be made to such a recommendation. This was giving the people a stone when they asked for bread, because the House had either to do without the public building altogether, or take in the place recommended by the Lieut.-Governor. Upon every ground upon which they had sought the condemnation of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, they had been false to the pledges made to the people, and had in substance abandoned every one of them. (Cheers.) Perhaps the most important function

which a Government had to perform is the administration of

### The Finances of the Country.

It was a somewhat dry subject, but he had to ask their careful consideration to a comparison he was about to make of the condition of affairs under the administrations of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald and Mr. Mowat respectively, by which they would be able to judge whether the Mowat Government had conducted the finances in the interests of economy and of the people. The Treasurer, Mr. Wood, in his budget speech, made last session, claimed that the surplus which his Government had now amounted to \$4,430,993. Mr. Wood made up that statement by claiming that there were \$2,179,010 of investments in Dominion bonds; \$553,540 in drainage debentures; \$2,786,418 of special or trust funds in the hands of the Dominion Government; \$105,541, share of library of the old Parliament of Canada assigned to Ontario; \$144,135 balance due on account of the Municipal Loan Fund; \$19,000 balance due on Mechanics' Institute; \$9,012 due by Credit Valley Railway for land, and balance from Mimico Farm, \$6,205, making a total of \$5,842,748. Mr. Wood made his liabilities, including the share of the land fund, which belongs to the Province of Quebec, \$1,411,755, which being deducted from the gross surplus, left a balance of \$4,430,993. They would observe that in this statement Mr. Wood included not merely the moneys invested and actually in hand, but also the large sum of \$2,786,418 of the trust funds in the hands of the Dominion Government, \$141,135 balance due on Municipal Loan Fund, and several small sums due for lands. Now, when Mr. Sandfield Macdonald dealt with the surplus, what he meant to convey was that he was dealing with the actual money saved out the annu revenue of

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the country. On the 31st December, 1871, Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had in actual money paid out for debentures of the Government and for money on special deposit, \$3,637,979 [page 10, Public Accounts, 1871]. These moneys were composed of \$850,000 worth of 5 per cent. debentures, \$705,471 of 6 per cents., and \$1,192,333 Dominion bonds, and special deposits in the bank of \$890,174. Now £250,000 stg. of the Dominion bonds had been purchased at 98 and had increased in value, and the additional two per cent. would represent \$24,820, the market value of these debentures increased by \$111,857 over par. The actual balance in the bank on ordinary current account was \$172,985, so that Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had in actual cash and actual cash investments \$3,947,642 saved out of the ordinary revenue of the Province during the four years he was in power. Now, it was a most suspicious circumstance when they found the Treasurer of the Government of the day introducing into what had been called

### A Statement of the Surplus,

a number of items which had never before been entered in this account. He asked his hearers as men of business and common sense if, when they went to look at the Treasurer's statement of assets and liabilities they found he was not dealing with the same items Mr. Sandfield Macdonald dealt with in his surplus, they would think he was attempting to deceive the people. It seemed to him a fair inference, in view of the rapid way in which the Reform Government were dissipating the surplus left by Sandfield Macdonald, that they found it necessary to drag in these items in order to deceive the people. Assuming, however, that they had a right to take these exceptional items to account, it would be fair to consider what Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's surplus

would have been, had they been included in his statement. The trust funds of the Dominion were \$2,891,950, including the share of library, or less the Quebec share school lands, \$427,337, \$2,464,621. They would observe that Mr. Wood in his statement claimed credit for the balance due on the Municipal Loan Fund. They all knew that years ago large sums were borrowed by the municipalities, and that at Confederation a large proportion was due. Mr. Mowat by the legislation he passed reduced this debt to \$2,520,270, and he thought that in all fairness he was entitled to charge as part of the surplus of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald that reduced Municipal Loan Fund, because they must remember the Government had sold these debentures with the exception of a small amount. Then Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had invested \$29,000 in the Mechanics' Institute which he had purchased for a School of Technology. This the Government had sold and converted into money. Mr. Wood claimed credit for the proceeds of the Mechanics' Institute, and the preceding Government were entitled to credit for the same item. He (Mr. Meredith) therefore included this item. The next item was

### The Mimico Farm.

This was purchased by Mr. Sandfield Macdonald for the purpose of establishing an agricultural college and farm. A large proportion of the people would say that the location had been well chosen. The present Government changed the site for the purpose of obtaining political favor and took it to Guelph. He fancied they had some political friends there they wished to oblige, and that it was on this account, and not on account of the quality of the land, that the location was changed. He did not desire to say one word against Mr. Patterson that evening, but he must refer to the vote which the representa-



tives of York gave on that occasion. Messrs. Crosby and Patterson were then the members for East and West York. Both of these gentlemen voted against the change, but had they been serious in their objection they might have prevented it taking place. If they had gone to Mr. Mowat and had stated that it was in the interests of the county of York and the Province to locate this college at Mimico and had threatened to withdraw their support, he ventured to say that the location would not have been changed. They were, however, not content to take that stand they should have taken in defence of the rights of their constituents. (Applause.) However, the Mimico farm had since been sold, and Mr. Wood had taken credit for the balance due on it, \$6,305, and for \$15,308 before received. Both of these items he took into account for Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's surplus. Then there were \$25,000 received from the Law Society and \$9,012 from the Credit Valley, \$175,704 drainage investments, and \$101,463 receipts from Crown Timber received in December, 1871, but which were not entered until January, 1872. These items all together would amount to \$296,684 58 which if added to the actual cash surplus would give

**\$9,244,327.46 as the Surplus of  
Mr. Sandfield Macdonald upon  
the basis taken by Mr. Wood.**

Against this should perhaps be charged \$556,292 16 of the municipal loan debt wiped off on account of the Canada Central R. R. Putting these statements side by side they must come to the conclusion that the man who was able to collect a surplus of that kind was the proper person to administer the affairs of the country, while the men who were dissipating it should not be trusted with the Government. A good deal had been said by gentlemen of the Reform party as to there being good reasons why the

surplus had been reduced. Mr. Mowat had taken the ground that he had spent among the people five millions in railway aid and municipal loan fund distribution. Now he [Mr. Meredith] thought he could show that Mr. Mowat received more—almost the whole sum—by exceptional receipts and by burdens removed, which Mr. Sandfield Macdonald had to bear. On the Municipal Loan fund account, Mr. Mowat collected \$1,564,657. Under the Confederation scheme, this Province had to pay out up to 1873 \$145,833 half-yearly as interest on the excess of the old Canada debt over what the Dominion had assumed. In 1873, a bill was introduced by the Government of Sir John Macdonald by which that debt was assumed by the Dominion, and from that time the payments ceased. So that from 1874 to 1878 Mr. Mowat's Government had been saving these payments, which would amount to a total of \$1,604,166 63. The present Administration had also had the benefit of the interest on the money which Sandfield Macdonald invested. He did not suppose they claimed credit for that, for it became due whether they were asleep or whether they were awake. They got upwards of \$1,200,000 by reason of this account. For timber sales in October, 1873, sales made in violation of the people's rights, \$533,229, and the \$101,463 before mentioned. Altogether, therefore, Mr. Mowat had made from sources not open to Mr. Sandfield Macdonald, \$5,005,316, nearly the whole of the amount of the capital distribution for which they took credit. Looking at these facts, he asked had the Government been economical in the administration of the affairs of the Province. [Cheers and cries of no.] Referring now to the expenditure, his friend, Mr. Tyrrell, had correctly stated what were the figures for the annual receipts and expenditure. There was no doubt there was an actual

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deficit, taking the gross amounts received and expended, but in that statement there were included sums paid under the surplus distribution scheme, and it was objected that this was unfair. For the purpose of ascertaining what had been the normal expenditure in the years 1868, 1871 and 1878, he had taken and compared a few figures from the Public Accounts. He proposed to show them what had been the increases in the expenditure in the

#### Four Years of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald's Regime,

Macdonald's regime, and the seven years of the Reform administration, and they would be able to draw a fair conclusion as to which had been the extravagant Government. The total expenditure in 1868 was \$1,182,388. This included expenditure which ought not to be classed as ordinary current expenditure, viz., that on public buildings which varied from year to year. He, therefore, deducted the expenditure on public buildings, \$125,846, in that year, which would leave \$1,056,541 as the actual expenditure for ordinary purposes by Sandfield Macdonald in his first year. In 1871, the last year of his administration the expenditure was \$1,816,866, and making certain deductions for the same reason as before, viz.: \$68,884, payments to the municipalities on account of sales of Crown Lands, which were not ordinary expenditure; land improvement fund, \$94,258, also exceptional expenditure; relief to the Ottawa and Saguenay sufferers, \$30,000; general elections, \$19,505, this being the year of the elections which did not occur in 1868 and 1878; public works and buildings, \$430,620.45. These sums deducted gave a total expenditure of \$1,173,597, so that the expenditure increased by \$117,056, or less than twelve per cent. of the expenditure of 1868. In 1878 the expendi-

ture per Supply bill was \$1,408,530; deducting \$298,618 for public works and buildings, \$2,109,025. The excess of expenditure for 1878 over 1871 on ordinary current account, exclusive of public buildings, was therefore \$966,327, nearly eighty per cent, upon the expenditure of 1871. (Cheers.) He asked any candid man in that hall, no matter what his politics might be, was not this an alarming state of things, a fit subject for the grave consideration of every elector in the Province. In the four years of Sandfield Macdonald's Government, who were adding to the public institutions, and had established the London Asylum and the Deaf and Dumb Institute at Belleville, the whole increase was \$117,000, or 12 per cent., while under the Reform Government, who boasted of being economical, it was \$936,000, or nearly 80 per cent. (Cheers.) Was not this an alarming condition of affairs? From Confederation up to this day, about ten years, the

#### Expenditure had Nearly Doubled.

If the electors disliked the idea of Provincial taxation new was the time to give these matters serious consideration. If they let this system continue for ten years more, where would they be landed? Assuming the same proportion of increase, the expenditure would amount to upwards of \$4,000,000 in 1888. Were the Government who had brought about this state of things deserving of the further confidence of the people? (Cries of no.) Every man of intelligence knew that the revenue had not increased in proportion. They had a fixed subsidy from the Dominion, a decreasing sum from the Crown Lands, and some minor sources of revenue, but this would decrease, because the lands which had been purchased were being rapidly paid for, and the revenue from this source would be less and less. In 1868 the revenue

was \$2,200,176, and after deducting certain payments on capital account, viz., the Municipal Loan Fund, \$202,872, the net revenue was \$2,057,304. In 1878 the revenue was \$2,217,588, so that while the revenue had increased by \$160,000 between these years, the expenditure had increased by the enormous sum of \$1,043,384. (Cheers.) It was said that this increase in the public expenditure was satisfactorily accounted for, that there had been a large increase in the institutions, which had to be maintained, and an increase in the work of the departments. He did not pretend to say that an increase of some kind—a reasonable increase—was not to be expected, but what he objected to was the enormous and unnecessary increase under the present Administration. The Reformers could in no way account for the enormous disproportion in the increases under their Government and that of Mr. Sandfield Macdonald. Leaving these generalities, he would now invite their attention to objections to the specific expenditures on the part of the Government. He would not refer to the expenditure in the administration of criminal justice, or to other expenditures of that class. He admitted that there would be fairly some increase in that expenditure, and he would deal therefore with the expenditure under the immediate control of the Government, and for which they were responsible. The first item he would notice was that of the Lieutenant-Governor's office. In 1871 the expenditure for salaries for this office was \$1,200. There was little, if any, increase in the work which was of a formal character, and yet the Government who profess economy had increased the expenditure on salaries by \$1,200 more, thereby doubling it since 1871. There was no justification for this increase. The contingencies of the same office in 1871 amounted to \$305.80, but in 1878 they

had been trebled, being \$950. In the Attorney-General's office the salaries were \$7,639; in 1878, \$11,600; contingencies, \$2,602 in 1871, and \$3,271 in 1878. Mr. Scott, who was the principle officer in that office, received \$2,000 in 1871, but was now getting \$2,800. The work of the department was done in 1871 by one clerk in addition to Mr. Scott, at a salary of \$700, and now there were three clerks receiving \$2,700. He found by the Public Accounts that the postage in 1871 for the Attorney-General's office was \$282, while in 1878 it was only \$182. A great deal had been said by Mr. Mowat about the large increase in the number of letters sent out from the department. It was somewhat singular that the postage account in Mr. Sand-Macdonald's time was double what it now is. The only explanation that could be offered was that many of the letters sent out were printed circulars, which would go at the reduced rate of postage. In the Treasury Department the salaries were \$8,765 in 1871, and \$12,299 in 1878; contingencies, \$1,319 in 1871, and \$2,423 in 1878. In the Secretary and Registrar's office the salaries were \$9,495 in 1871, and \$16,200 in 1878; contingencies, \$1,093 in 1871, and \$2,231 in 1878. In the Public Works Department the salaries were \$10,365 in 1871, and \$18,654 in 1878. It was only fair to say that in 1871 there were charged to the Public Works \$2,678 for salaries which were not charged to this account in subsequent years, but the increase would even then be \$6,000. In the Crown Lands office, the salaries were \$29,884 in 1871, and \$41,780 in 1878; contingencies \$8,454 in 1871, and \$10,120 in 1878. In the Inspector of Prisons' office, the salaries were \$2,484 in 1871, and \$5,941 in 1878; contingencies, \$715 in 1871, and \$3,126 in 1878. He would call special attention to the expenses for legislation, because the session was no longer in 1878

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50. In the salaries \$3,725; continued \$3,271 in the principle \$2,000 in 2,800. The done in 1871 Mr. Scott, at there were Hefound by postage in eral's office s only \$182. aid by Mr. ease in the rom the de- at singular Mr. Sand- n what it n that could the letters alars, which of postage. the salaries \$12,299 in 1871, and etary and were \$9,495 8; contin- \$2,231 in Department 1871, and fair to say ged to the ries which nt in sub- ease would he Crown \$29,884 in ntigencies 1878. In the salar- \$5,941 in 1871, and all special egislation, er in 1878

than in 1871. In 1871, the salaries were \$3,725, and in 1878 \$11,300; sessional writers, \$4,212 in 1871, and \$8,043 in 1878; stationery, \$11,412 in 1871, and \$18,728 in 1878. This was an enormous increase in the expenditure on a branch of the public service as to which none of the arguments in regard to increased work would apply. The expenses for Crown counsel were \$7,989 in 1871, and \$13,161 in 1878, and this, too, when five out of the six members of the Cabinet were lawyers. These gentlemen would have been much better employed in some business of this kind, instead of going about the country attending meetings for the Dominion elections. So strongly did this appeal to the sense of the House, that a supporter of the Government felt constrained to introduce a motion asking the members of the Government to pay more attention to this business in future, in view of the fact that five lawyers were in the Cabinet. Taking the expenditure immediately under the control of the Government, he thought he had shown them that there had been large and unjustifiable increases. A great deal had been said throughout the country in regard to

### The Question of Indemnity.

He had endeavored ever since he had entered public life to conduct the affairs of the Province, as if those engaged in them were honorable men, and he thought it was a most degrading thing for public men to be attacked and belittled in the way they were at present. If men in the highest offices of the Government were branded as fit for the penitentiary, what would be thought of us by other countries, who would naturally ask what kind of people were they who put such men in charge of public affairs. Was it right, proper, or decent to teach the young of this country that the men selected for

the highest positions were unworthy of the confidence of the public, and would sell themselves for filthy lucre? It was the duty of every politician to frown down attacks of this kind and to resent them, no matter from what side they came. Many attempts had been made from time to time to assail the character of the gentleman who now led the Dominion Government, a gentleman whose name would live in the written pages of the history of his country long after his slanderers had passed into oblivion. (Cheers.) The same persons, not content with this, had attempted to slander Dr. Tupper and Mr. Tilley. He asked the electors to resent by their verdict at the polls attacks made upon our public men who otherwise might be driven from public life. (Applause.) He had never on any occasion shirked the responsibility for any act he had taken. He assumed in the fullest sense, as a member of the Opposition, his share of the responsibility for the course taken in regard to the indemnity. The increase took place immediately after the general elections of 1875. At that time many of the members had been subjected to election trials, and were largely out of pocket, and when the House met there was an agitation in favor of the increased indemnity, and whether right or wrong, it was concurred in by a large majority of the House, and the Government acceded to it on their representations. No man on either side of the House was entitled to make political capital of this matter, and he defied anybody to say he had ever attempted to do so. But did the supporters of the Government think that because that increase took place, the representatives of the people were committed to sit for the whole of their lives? If the people declared against it, were they to be bound by that arrangement not to move for a reduction, after giving the Government a notification? He thought it was right for

every member to change his convictions, if the people desired a reduction. In 1876, certain members came to the conclusion that public opinion did not justify that increase, and holding that view the Opposition did a manly and straightforward thing. Mr. M. C. Cameron intimated to the leader of the Government that it was the intention of an Opposition member to move for a reduction, unless the Government moved in that direction. Mr. Crooks accordingly made a motion to that effect, and in all fairness the Opposition were by it absolved from any compact, if such had existed. Mr. Crooks' motion was voted down that year, and subsequently the Opposition took the position that the Government should be bound by the will of the people in this matter. The Government did not see this, although they had the control of this matter, because whatever sum they introduced into the estimates could not be increased, on the ground that unless an appropriation is recommended by the Lieut.-Governor it was not competent for the House to vote upon it. During the session just closed, the Opposition came to the conclusion that it was their duty, in the interests of the country, to make a motion for reduction, and they introduced the resolution just read by Mr. Tyrrell, which declared that in view of the state of the Province, there should be a decrease in the indemnity to members, and in the salaries of the Ministers. What position did the Government take for the purpose of making political capital and evading the true issue, and taking time to determine what course they would pursue in regard to their salaries? They set up the plea that this was a motion of want of confidence, and called upon their supporters to vote it down. This was not a justifiable course, and they ought to have cheerfully accepted the motion if they had intended to make the reduction. If they had intimated this, the Opposition

would have withdrawn their motion. (Applause.) Of late it had become a parliamentary rule that a Government was not to be displaced by an adverse vote, except on a motion of want of confidence, or one directly attacking their policy. It seemed to him that no Government had any right to say arbitrarily that a particular motion was one of want of confidence. The course of the Opposition had been fair and honourable, and in the interests of the public, and, at all events, obtained the result of a reduction of the indemnity, and \$500 being taken from the

### Salaries of the Ministers.

The position he had taken in regard to the salaries of Ministers, was that under no circumstances, in a country like this, should the salaries be so great as to make it an object for any man to acquire office simply for the salary. He thought the position of a Minister so prominent that it should be sufficient compensation, provided that a reasonable salary be paid to indemnify him from actual loss. Now it must be remembered that five of the present Cabinet were lawyers, and had not to give up the whole of their business, and what was paid them was not for the whole of their time, but as much of it as they chose to devote to the public business, and he thought the money paid was adequate for the duties performed. No kind of comparison could fairly be made with the salaries of Ministers at Ottawa. Those who go there have to leave their homes and give up their private business. Of necessity the expenses of the members of the national Government must be greater than those of the Ontario Government.

### The Opposition Proposals.

It had been asked, what had the Opposition proposed in regard to these matters? During last session the Opposition placed



upon record their views with regard to a large number of these subjects. They pointed out specifically their objection to particular items in the estimates which they thought should be reduced. The Speaker's salary, which was raised by Mr. Blake to \$1,500, the Opposition proposed should be reduced to \$1,000, as the Speaker had merely to preside over the Assembly, and received his indemnity as a member in addition to his salary. The motion was voted down, although it was one in the public interests. Then the Opposition proposed that the salaries of Ministers should be reduced each by \$500, which would have made a considerable saving. They also proposed that all salaries over \$800 should be reduced ten per cent. It was not unreasonable that some reduction should be made in view of the fact that the purchasing power of money had increased. They also proposed to strike off \$15,000 on account of immigration. This expenditure was entirely unnecessary, and it was most unjust and unfair in these hard times, when many a poor man was struggling to get the bare necessities of life, for any Government to expend public money in bringing emigrants into this country when the labour market was overstocked to crowd out our own people. (Cheers.) If there was anything for which the Opposition were entitled to credit it was for the persistent manner in which they had attacked this expenditure on immigration. They also proposed to do away with the Inspector of Dominion Courts, who received a salary, including travelling expenses, of \$1,800. That officer was unnecessary, as his duties ought to be performed by the Judges of the County Courts. They also proposed to dispense with the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, and this was the only motion in favour of which the Government went with the Opposition. Mr. Vankoughnet, who occupied that position, was a Conservative, and these gen-

tlemen who would not reduce the salary of any other single official except one, voted for the abolition of this officer simply because he was a Conservative, thus indicating they were actuated by partisan motives. They also proposed to dispense with the services of detective Murray, whose salary was fixed at \$1,500, and opposed the increase of the salary of the stipendiary magistrate at Parry Sound from \$1,400 to \$1,800. The Government having increased the number of High School Inspectors to three, the Opposition proposed to relieve the people of the burden of one of them, whose salary was upwards of \$2,000. Then the Warden of the Central Prison received \$2,000, with board and lodging for himself and family. This was an excessive salary, and the Opposition proposed to reduce it to \$1,600. All these motions were voted down. The Opposition voted against the proposition to appoint an assistant physician to the London Asylum, for the reduction from \$2,000 to \$1,600 of the salaries of the President of the Agricultural College and the Professor of Agriculture at that College, and to dispense with the assistant English and resident master, an officer then proposed for the first time. The grant for the School of Practical Science was \$5,190, notwithstanding that it had only seven pupils. The Opposition proposed to strike out that expenditure, and leave the University of Toronto to sustain the institution, the Province having expended upwards of \$30,000 for the erection and furnishing of the School. They also objected to the item \$1,400 for the Immigration Secretary, an officer entirely unnecessary, and to the item of \$11,315 for insurance on public buildings. The Opposition thought that the Government could afford to take its own risks of insurance, and that there was no necessity for the Province spending these large sums of money annually upon the insurance of the public buildings. The

item of \$50,000 for unforeseen and unprovided expenditure they proposed to reduce to \$20,000, and they suggested the abolition of the salary of the Police Magistrate at Clifton [\$1,000] which the people there ought to pay. Finally, they proposed to do away with the assistant clerk of Process, whose salary was \$700. Every one of these motions was voted down by the Government, all of them being justifiable on grounds of public policy. He ventured to say that many true Reformers were in sympathy with the Opposition in the course they had taken, and condemned the Government for the course they had taken. He had one word to say in reference to the policy the Government had adopted in grasping power in all quarters, although the Reform principle was to leave, as far as possible, all power in the hands of the people. Take for instance the license system. The rural municipalities were properly and cheaply conducting this matter, but for the purpose of gaining political power and of having the appointment of three commissioners in the different ridings, and of the inspectors, and of drawing to themselves the support of the tavern-keepers, the Government took out of the hands of the municipalities the right to grant these licenses and of appointing the inspectors. Was this act in the public interest, or was it consistent with Reform professions? The result was that great abuse had ensued, and the public burdens had been increased. In another matter, also, the Government had attempted to gain power. They brought in a measure assuming the appointment of the issuers of marriage licenses, which was formerly in the hand of the Dominion Government. They removed many respectable men who occupied these offices, in violation of their promises to Parliament on the faith of which the measure was passed. He had intended to refer to the legislation

for which the Government had taken credit, but time would not permit, but would upon another occasion do so. The *Globe* newspaper had challenged the Conservative party to accept as the issue at the coming elections the endorsement of

### The National Policy.

He [Mr. Meredith] asked the people of the Province to condemn the Government upon Ontario issues, but he was not afraid to face the issue invited, although it should not be properly imported into this discussion. He was not afraid that the people who on the 17th September last pronounced by an overwhelming majority for the national policy would condemn the men who, by the confessions of their opponents even, were honestly endeavoring to carry out the constitutionally expressed will of the people. A great deal had been said about disloyalty, and all kinds of slander had been circulated about the Conservative party in reference to the National Policy, but the first duty of a Canadian was to his country, and a man who did not look to his own country first could not be loyal to any land. [Cheers.] Owing partly to depression of trade and partly to want of judgment on the part of the Dominion Reform Government, the country had got into an alarming condition. Something had to be done, and the people endorsed the proposition to protect our industries. Those persons who took the opposite ground, were not true to their country. The policy which would make us vassals of the United States was not consistent with the honor and position of a country such as this. (Cheers.) No country which had not manufactures ever became great or prosperous. We had within our borders everything which tended to make a great people. We had a healthy climate, a variety of soils, and a hearty and industrious people. If we endeavored to



build up our own country by judicious regulation, we may have a land of which we might be proud. Even the opponents of the Conservatives could not deny that the party had carried out the pledges they gave to the people. (Cheers.) He did not think the people were going to condemn a Government for giving them that which they had themselves demanded, or were likely to reverse their verdict of the 17th September. One reason why the Ontario Government should be condemned was because they had taken a determined stand against the National Policy and had endeavored to hamper it

as much as possible. The minority ought to submit to the wishes of the majority in this case, and every person should endeavor to make the policy a success in its operation. He believed that when the 5th of June came, the people would record the same verdict they gave on the 17th September, and would condemn the Mowat Government—first, on its own demerits, and secondly because it endeavored to frustrate the will of the electors, and to destroy the effect of the honest effort made by our rulers at Ottawa to promote the interests of the country. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)